Conceptual Models and Foreign Policy Decision Making

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1. INTRODUCTION

On June 5, 1967 the war erupted between the Arabs and Israel. It was the third war in twenty years. The hostility mounted after every war. A state of tension and alert have been and still exist between the Arabs and the Israelis.

Needless to say, the real reasons and the seeds of the June 1967 war go back to the time of the creation of Israel and the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948. In spite of this fact, the June war was initiated because of more specific reasons and conditions aroused in the first months of 1967 by the military clashes between Israel on one side and Syria and Jordan on the other side. This tension mounted by Israeli threats to attack Syria and reached its peak by Egypt's request for the United Nations Emergency Force withdrawal from its territories, and Nasser's decision to close the Straits of Tiran to the Israeli ships. Obviously, the closure of the Tiran Straits was the crucial element which led to the outbreak of war between Israel and the Arabs for the third time.

Tracing the historical origins of the conflict is not within the scope of this study. Rather, it is concerned with the direct and immediate reasons which led Nasser to that decision.

In this study of the reasons behind Nasser's decision the three models used by Graham T. Allison in his case study *Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis* will be employed in an effort to explain and describe the motivations and reasons which led Nasser to his drastic decision.

Graham T. Allison used the Cuban crisis to show that if we study it from three different perspectives, we construct different interpretations of how United States policy evolved. Specifically, he reconstructs the evaluation of United States policy during the crisis in terms of each of the following perspectives: (a) as the outcome of "rational" decision making by the national government; (b) as the outcome of habitual behavior by the major govermental departments involved; (c) as the outcome of "bureaucratic" bargaining by leading officials in the governmental hierarchy (1).

MODEL I: RATIONAL POLICY

Nasser's decision to close Tiran Straits for the Israeli ships can be understood by the rational policy model as used by Allison. This paradigm leads analysts to rely on the following pattern of inference; if a nation performed a particular action, that nation must have had ends toward which the action constituted an optimal means. The rational policy model's explanatory power stems from this inference pattern. The basic assumption of value-maximizing behavior produces propositions central to most explanations. The general principle can be formulated as follows: the likelihood of any particular action results from a com-

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employment in their countries. Thus action to promote employment of high level talents should be taken. There should be a well-organized manpower planning in those countries to plan to utilize and develop their human resources.

I cannot suggest any measures to halt migration since such measures should be based on a well-designed study to the requirements and the potentiality of every country.

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TABLE 1. *Stock of professional, Technicians, and Related Manpower and Potential Capacity to Increase It, and the Percentage of High-Level Migration from Less Developed Countries.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Country	% of P.T.R. in total Non-Agric. Workers	% of P.T.R. in total Econ. Active Population	Physicians	Inhabitant per Physician	Professional Nurses	% of Migrants Professional or Technical to U.S.	to Canada
Europe							
Greece	7.5	3.4	11,980	710	2,987	26.3	2.9
Turkey	7.1	1.5	9,664	3,220	2,383	45.0	45.7
Asia							
India	6.3	1.7	77,780	5,800	39,350	78.6	60.7
Indonesia	—	—	2,935	35,000	21,117	23.0	68.4
Iran	3.5	1.6	7,090	3,220	1,797	46.6	63.3
Iraq	—	—	1,470	4,760	683	43.5	40.7
Korea, South	5.9	2.2	9,695	2,850	8,159	73.2	—
Lebanon	—	—	1,691	1,320	945	40.2	20.0
Malysia	7.4	2.8	1,395	6,549	—	45.5	70.8
Pakistan	5.5	1.4	15,668	6,400	3,962	83.7	61.8
Thailand	7.0	1.3	3,462	8,600	1,947	—	—
North America							
Costa Rica	10.3	5.2	705	1,970	—	13.8	—
Dominican Republic	7.3	2.8	2,153	1.620	437	7.4	—
Guatamala	6.4	2.3	1,066	4,040	920	17.6	—
Haiti	2.9	0.5	314	15,000	308	25.6	—
Mexico	9.7	3.6	20,590	1,750	—	3.7	36.0
South America							
Argentina	—	—	31,831	670	28,114	32.0	15.8
Brazil	—	—	24,251	2,300	6,054	28.2	14.8
Chile	6.9	4.9	4,250	1,810	1,570	28.2	19.8
Columbia	5.0	2.3	7,305	2,470	1,177	22.8	44.1
Uruguay	7.3	5.9	3,100	850	340	—	9.8
Africa							
Morocco	6.9	3.0	1,276	9,900	1,014	24.9	7.9
Nigeria	—	—	1,777	32,000	9,039	51.4	—
Egypt	6.4	3.1	12,120	2,380	1,214	37.2	29.0

Source: S. Watanabe: "The Brain Drain from Developing Countries to Developed Countries", International Labor Review, April, 1969, pp. 405 and 412.

problem will be inefficiency, and this is a very serious problem in less developed countries. Some writers argued that the actual impact of the brain drain depends upon the supply of the manpower concerned and the requirements for it.[33] But it seems that the emigration of high-level manpower in any case produces harmful effects to the less developed countries because those countries suffer from a shortage in high talents, especially engineers, natural scientists, and medical personnel.

Another thing is that the outflow of high talents from less developed countries tends to deteriorate the human resources in the home country. S. Watanabe studied the effects of migration on the existing stock of medical personnel.[34]

Table 1 summarizes his study. In this table the number of existing physicians in each country is shown in column 4.

He found that Africa and Asia have a serious shortage of physicians and nurses, while Latin America is relatively well supplied. He took the percentages of professional, technical and related workers in the total number of non-agricultural workers and in the total economically active population as rough indicators of the high level manpower stock (columns 2 and 3 of Table 1). The first one may show the scarcity of high-level manpower in the short run, while the second percentage indicates the scarcity of high-level manpower in the long run. Comparing these percentages with that of the percentage of emigrants (professional, technical and related workers) to the United States and Canada (column 7) he found that the emigrating labor force is far more talent-intensive than the labor force at home. From this he concluded that, "It follows that the current pattern of emigration tends to deteriorate the human resources in the home country".[35]

As we noted above, there is no doubt that international migration of talents represents heavy investments made by the developing countries, and harvested by the advanced countries. Professor J. Shearer found that these movements constitute a heavy subsidy of the richer by the poorer. He studied the internal migration of talents from rural areas to the capital cities in Mexico and Chile. We can apply his results on less developed as the rural areas and the developed countries as the capital cities. He argued that "The migration represents movements of heavy investments in human resources made by the poorer areas. The migrats and the capital city, already the richest area, harvest the fruits of these investments".[36]

Thus the less developed countries lose those people whom they invested in. Therefore, it seems that the developed countries are the beneficiaries from the international migration of talents and the less developed countries are the losers.

CONCLUSION

We saw that the international migration of high-level manpower tends to have harmful effects on the less developed countries and may retard their development.

Therefore, most less developed countries should take a number of steps to improve the use which they make of their trained manpower. Unless highly trained people are effectively used in their countries, migration is one rational reaction of individuals.

There should also be arrangements to enable scientists and scholars to keep with the developments in their fields and to maintain active contacts with their peers in other countries. This will keep them satisfied and remain in their own countries, as otherwise, they will feel isolated scientifically.

Any efforts to reduce international high-level talents migration will be meaningless unless those trained people can find suitable

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 410.
[34] *Ibid.*, 411–412.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[36] J. C. Shearer, "Intra- and International Movements of High-Level Human Resources", in Spacial Dimensions of Development Administration, ed. by J. Heaphy, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1971, p. 184.

States has no longer been tied to nationality but has been on a first-come, first-served basis depending on a person's skills. As a result, the number of Asian scientists and engineers emigrating to the United States increased over tenfold between 1965 and 1967.[27]

Immigration data to other developed countries is not available. It is, however, well known that the British National Health Service has been greatly helped by Indian and Pakistani physicians; 44 percent of the junior staff came from overseas.[28] Other European countries are also attracting high-level manpower from less developed countries.

It seems that the number of migration of high-level talents is increasing year after year. This migration has harmful effects on less developed countries, despite the fact that statistics on international high-level manpower flows are of limited help in telling us how serious the problem is. This partly because the statistics themselves are not very good.

We will try to look at some of the effects of the international migration of high-level talents on less developed countries.

4. EFFECTS OF MIGRATION OF HIGH-LEVEL TALENTS

The effects of international migration of high-level manpower will be discussed from the point of view of the country of the origins, namely the less developed countries and not the brain drain from Europe.

The only benefit attributed to the brain drain, that the emigrants will make valuable contributions in basic research, invent new production processes or develop new products. The migration represents movements of heavy investments in human resources made by the less developed countries; these investments embodied in the education and training.

Therefore, one of the direct losses arising from the brain drain is the cost of educating those people. The total costs of education according to S. Watanabe comprise two elements: the direct cost of education, and the earnings forgone during the period of education.[29] But we have to note that the costs of education differ from country to country. India, for example, has substantial numbers of unemployed, the money spent on his education might be wasted in any case, even if he does not emigrate.[30] Therefore, we have to keep this difference between countries when we talk about the costs of education and compare the losses of less developed countries from the brain drain.

The other important loss is that of the emigrant's future contribution to economic growth in terms of national income. S. Watanabe argued that, "The loss to the home may be greater than the cost of an emigrant's education, for the present value of his expected direct and indirect contribution to the national income in the future may exceed the cost of his education".[31]

Some argue that the losses from the migration of high talents stem mainly from complementarity of high level manpower to other productive resources. But the magnitude of these losses is not such as to depress the human capital endowments of the less developed countries.[32] It seems that this argument is somewhat wrong, since these losses not only depress human capital endowments of less developed countries but also retard their development. The emigration of a highly trained person may result in the unemployment of a large number of other workers who might otherwise be employed under him. They might appoint an unqualified person to fill the vacancy and then the

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 360.
[28] S. Watanabe, p. 403.
[29] S. Watanabe, "The Brain Drain from Developing to Developed Countries", International Labor Review, April, 1969, p. 408.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 409.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 409.
[32] Sabbiah Kannappan, "The Drain Brain and Developing Countries", Int. Labor Review, July, 1968, p. 12.

problem of isolation".[17] As an example of solving this problem, in Libya every Libyan professor in the University has the opportunity to take a sabatical leave to Europe or the United States or any Country for one year every four years to study the new research in his field. Someone might argue that the less developed countries do not have the funds to do so. In this case, some kind of associationship scheme should cover all the world.

Political instability and unrest also tend to make people more likely to migrate to countries less instable politically. It is argued that, "Political persecution and even personal philosophical incompatability increase the desire to migrate. Unfortunately, examples of instability accompanied by migration outweigh examples of stability".[18] These examples include recent movements from Kenya and Uganda to England, from Iran before the revolution and Greece to the United States, and from Argentina and Brazil to other parts of Latin America and the United States. Of course, these movements have resulted in losses of large numbers of highly trained people who might otherwise have made substantial contributions to the development of their home country.

The talents are very sensitive to the political conditions. Any change in the political climate may stimulate or inhibit migration of high-level manpower. In Ghana, for example, there was a serious outflow of talent as sequence of political policies of the regime.[19]

3. PATTERNS OF MIGRATION OF HIGH-LEVEL MANPOWER

We have to keep in mind that the numbers of migrants with which we are dealing with are smaller than the aggregate figures of migration. In 1960's, world wide migration from less developed countries to developed countries was about 300,000 workers per year.[20] Of this number about 15% have professional or technical training.[21] The major receiving country of migrants from less developed countries is the United States. There has been a pronounced increase in the proportion of highly trained emigrants who come from less developed countries. From 1964 through 1969, migration from less developed countries has more than doubled. The increase of migration from Asia dominates the picture in terms of numbers and rate of increase. Immigration from Africa has increased, but the numbers are small, and from South America is decreasing steadily.[22] Professor J. Shearer estimated the South American migration to the United States between 1950–59 and 1960–69. He found that in 1950–59 the number of migrants was 91,600, while in 1960–69 it was 200,000.[23]

From this figure, it seems that the migration from South America to the United States is not declining. Professor Shearer expected much greater immigration in this decade.[24]

The last years of 1960's have seen, according to Baldwin a 100 percent increase in the number of scientists and engineers entering the United States and about 50 percent increase in the number of doctors as compared with late fifties and early sixties.[25] This recent increase in migration to the United States is largely due to changes in American immigration policy.[26]

They change from a preference system based on national origins to preferences based on occupational qualifications. Since July 1, 1968, immigration into the United

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 466.
[18] The Committee on the International Migration of Talent, "Modernization and the Migration of Talent". A report from Education and World Affairs, 1970, p. 48.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[22] J. C. Shearer, "Intra- and International Movements of High-Level Human Resources." In Spacial Dimensions of Development Administration, Ed. J. Heaphy, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1971, p. 193.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[25] George Baldwin, "Brain Drain or Overflows", Foreign Affairs, Jan. 1970, p. 360.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 360.

countries. It seems that it is not the case as Professor Zahlan argued, "There is an effective demand in the Middle East for all types of specialists and scholars. . . . the 'copy' of the western doctor or scholar are ill-equipped to cope with the problems, that face those destined to create the institutions within which they can fit emotionally and professionally".[14] He is right in pointing out that the problem is not the lack of effective demand. It seems that the problem is the fundamental conditions of life in less developed countries underlies their inability to absorb their highly trained people. This inability to absorb is not a resulted lack of effective demand but it is as a result of a lack of good planning to utilize fully their highly trained people.

Thus, the real problem is under-utilization of high level manpower in less developed countries. The primary loss to those countries is this inability to use productive people whom they have trained at great expense, whether those who are not used remain in the country or migrate. One leaves his country because he will be utilized fully and he will earn more. In his country he probably will sit in a marvelous office, his productivity is zero and he earned less relative to those in the developed countries. He will feel unsatisfied and then will look for migration. Thus, the underutilization and the low earnings in the less developed countries that cause migration of high level talents. Professor Harbison argued that, "They (LDC's) often lose the brain power which they need the most, not because they are unable to develop it, but rather because of this inability to utilize it fully".[15]

The under-utilization of high talents resulted in much lower earnings possibilities relative to the developed countries. No established jobs for high level talents at home because of the lack of planning and the little opportunity to utilize their skills. All these work under the term under-utilization.

The economic factors, in fact, relate to the general economic level of the country, which can support relevant activities to an extent that will provide reasonable opportunities for trained people to utilize their hard-earned training. They are the single and most persuasive cause in all countries, but in some countries other factors add to economic factors.

Non-Economic Factors

There are many non-economic factors that cause migration of the high talents from less developed countries. They include the rigidity of government employment systems, the lack of research funds, the professional isolation, the use of relatives and friends to secure jobs, inadequate recognition of talent in younger people, lack of hope for the future, and political factors.

I will discuss professional isolation and political factors as examples.

Abdus Salam, a Pakistani migrant, described the professional isolation in the following words:[16] "I felt terribly isolated. If, at that time, someone had said to me, we shall give you the opportunity every year to travel to an active center in Europe or the United States for three months of your vacation to work with your peers, would you then be happy to stay the remaining nine months at Lahore, I would have said yes". It is clear that the professional isolation is one of the problems that stimulate the brain drain. To halt the brain drain the governments should keep these men happy and contented within their home countries. They must be kept there to build for the future, but their scientific integrity must also be preserved. Abdus Salam argued that, "By providing them with this guaranteed opportunity for remaining in contact with their peers, we believe we are making a contribution to solving the

[14] Zahlan, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

[15] F. H. Harbison, "Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations, Oxford University Press, London, 1973, p. 103.

[16] Abdus Salam, "The Isolation of Scientists in Developing Countries", Minerva, IV, (1966), p. 465.

observers? The answer is that the flow of human capital from Europe to the United States, for example, in the 19th Century was complementary to an export of physical capital and unskilled labor. It resulted in a progressive narrowing of the gap between countries in different stages of development, benefiting both sending and receiving countries.[5] In the current migration the less developed countries have found themselves badly short of complementary cadres of technical and professional personnel in key administrative and research positions.

The migration of talent is a subject of controversy. Professor J. Shearer pointed out, "The international migration of talent is a subject on which opposing views have been strongly expressed and about which important decisions are made by governments and others on the basis of little useful analysis relevant to elusive facts".[6] I will try to summarize these views in order to understand the nature of the problem.

The two views are the "International" and "Nationalist's". According to the International Model, migration of talents reflects the operation of the international market for a particular factor of production. This factor of production (human capital) will tend to move from regions where its productivity is low to regions where its productivity is high. The advocators of this view recommend the non-interference and migration.[7]

The Nationalist Model, regards certain minimum levels of talent as indispensable to the country's economic development. If the migration causes the country to suffer from the lack of talents or key skills, then the policy makers must interfere and no migration.[8]

It seems that the Nationalist Model is more realistic. Professor J. Shearer argued that, "Nationalism is a major reality which is likely to continue to be immensely important in the world and the 'nation building' is generally considered indispensable prerequisite to development".[9]

Let us now turn to the causes of migration and not deal with this controversy.

2. CAUSES OF MIGRATION OF HIGH-LEVEL MANPOWER

Two important factors seem to cause immigration: economic factors and non-economic factors.

Economic Factors

They are not limited to the personal economic element of salary as some writers argue.[10] Of course, this is important, and for a few migrants, perhaps all important. In Lebanon, the pay salary of a physicist is about $170 a month.[11] But it is not the only factor that cause migration from Lebanon. The National University and public institutions in Lebanon suffer from a brain drain as a result of low salaries, poor working conditions, and lack of research facilities.[12] Therefore, economic factors are more than the personal salary.

Some writers argued that migration occurs because of the lack of opportunity in the less developed countries as a result of oversupply in those countries in relation to effective demand.[13] Therefore, according to those writers, the high level talents emigrate because there is no effective demand in their

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[6] J. C. Shearer, "International Migration of Talent and the Foreign Student". Industrial Relations Research Associations, Dec. 29–30, 1969, p. 258.

[7] Walter Adams, *op. cit.* p. 4 and pp. 69–91.

[8] Walter Adams, *op. cit.* p. 5 and pp. 42–99.

[9] J. C. Shearer, "International Migration of Talent and Foreign Student", Industrial Relations Research Association. Dec. 29–30, 1969, p. 250.

[10] H. Grubel and A. Scott, "The International Flow of Human Capital", American Economic Review, May, 1969, pp. 268–74.

[11] A. B. Zahlan, "Migration Patterns of the Graduates of the American University of Beirut". In Education of World Affairs Report, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 271.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 271.

[13] The Committee on the International Migration of Talent, "Modernization and the Migration of Talent" Report from Education of World Affairs, New York, 1970, p. 1–6.